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Development and Awareness

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VOLUME LXXX, NO. 21 SEPTEMBER 18, 1964 TWENTY-FIVE CENTS

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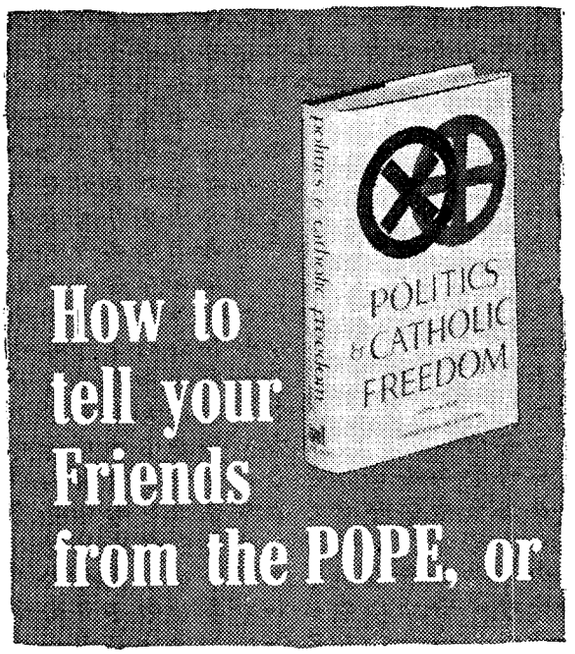

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THE COMMONWEAL

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Second-class postage paid in Norwalk, Conn. Printed in the U.S.A. and published weekly, except biweekly Christmas-New Year's and from mid-July to mid-September, at 116 Main St., Norwalk, Conn., by The Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc., 232 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. MUrray Hill 3-2042.

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THE COMMONWEAL

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

Law and Order

IN HIS kickoff speech of September 3 in Prescott, Arizona, Senator Barry Goldwater was in good form, nicely combining a call for morality and righteousness with some good, old-fashioned mud-slinging. The speech provided, we suppose, a fairly good index of the way the Senator intends to pitch his appeal. The earlier note of zealous aggressiveness in international affairs was muted. There was little hinting at the need for "victory" in the cold war; instead, peace through strength was the theme. Wisely enough, the Senator did not refer again to what he recently described as the German origin of the latter principle. Perhaps he recognized that examples drawn from Germany would not prove altogether persuasive.

What interested us, however, was not the Senator's dedication to peace, but the following assertion: "Choose the way of this present Adminstration and you have the way of mobs in the street, restrained only by the plea that they wait until after election time to ignite violence once again." It was a well-turned sentence, appealing to the "white backlash" vote, suggesting that the Administration was directly responsible for rioting, and ambiguously implying that only the exigencies of the campaign kept the Administration from bestowing its blessing on mob-rule. On the face of it, the Senator's innuendoes are ridiculous, not to mention base in their thrust. But the Senator knows an issue when he sees one, and he can probably count on many a grave nod from the law-abiding when he says such things.

For there seems little doubt that the American people have never warmed up to Negro militancy in the form of demonstrations and the breaking of local laws, however unjust. In a sense, perhaps their general instinct is right: "law and order" are of fundamental importance in our country, and not to be lightly set aside. No doubt that is why most whites, cut off from Negroes, simply can't understand why the Negro should resort to means which seem to contradict one vital source of American social stability. Why can't he simply be patient, putting the same trust in our legal system that others have for generations?

What they fail to see is that, especially in the South but in parts of the North as well, the trustworthy legal system has been used against the Negro. Nor can they see how *de facto* has almost the same effect on the Negro as legalized segregation. The horrible thing is that these are not always easy things to see. They require more information than the average American probably possesses, more wisdom about our political system than one can safely presume of everyman, and more moral sensitivity than is likely among a generally affluent, successful populace. Hence, there is bound to be resistance to Negro militancy; it would be astounding if there were not.

NONETHELESS, this resistance can not be accepted. The American white has to be taught to make distinctions, especially to distinguish mob violence, of the kind that erupted in Harlem Rochester and Philadelphia, from non-violent organized demonstrations directed at specific ills Senator Goldwater obviously recognizes no such distinction, nor is he alone. And as William V Shannon indicates in his column in this issue, President Johnson does not always help matters by his own emphasis on law and order. Where he should be emphasizing the distinction mentioned above he now seems prone to blur it.

That said, the decision of many Negro leaders to suspend further demonstrations until after the election is probably a wise one. It does not strike us as a compromise of the Negro organizations integrity, but rather a political realization of the deficient maturity of American whites. It is a realization also of Senator Goldwater's dangerous ability

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:o conceal the moral issues behind a screen of pious words. The unwillingness of CORE to go along with the moratorium, however, may have its good side. It will indicate that the Democratic Party had better not soft-pedal civil rights in the heat of the campaign. CORE should help to keep Democrats honest, even as they profit from the general moratorium.

Medicare

THE MARGIN of 60 to 28 by which the Administration's revised social security measure finally passed the Senate has to be weighed against the opposition its provision of hospital and home care for older citizens, and other benefits, encounters in the House. Among the most unyielding obstructionists in the business are the two key committee chairmen: Howard Smith of Rules and Wilbur Mills of Ways and Means. Besides long-manifest opposition to medicare and the fact that it was not included in the measure adopted by the House, July 29, there are also the higher benefits (and taxes) in the Senate version of the bill, which now goes to conferees from both houses.

Certain facts in the debate remain in dispute: the extent of the present needs of the elderly that remain unmet; the costs of such a medicare program; the amount of hospital, medical and nursing facilities that would be required, etc. What is difficult to deny is the increasing number—and proportion—of citizens over 65, and the fact that after retirement, when incomes are sharply curtailed, older citizens become much more subject to expensive illnessess. Even if an insurance executive would not find the relationship between contributions and benefit payments actuarially sound, there is a lot to be said for enabling the wage-earner to provide while he is working for his heavy expenses after retirement. Finally, it seems to us unnecessarily humiliating to subject older people to a means test as a requirement for obtaining government medical aid.

The Senate has at last voted to provide limited medical care for the aged through Social Security; can the House be convinced in this election year that failure to agree on a joint measure providing such care would oppose the popular will?

Carlton J. H. Hayes

PROFESSOR HAYES, who died September 9, was a member of the original Editorial Council of The Commonweal. In the early years he contributed many important articles. If not always in complete agreement with the magazine, he never lost interest in it. Carlton Hayes helped found the National Conference of Christians and Jews and was our Ambassador to Spain during World War II. His socially and culturally oriented history books have attained the widest circulation. A vigorous critic of modern nationalism, he will long be remembered for the zest with which in his lectures he threw himself into the roles of Bismarck and other historic figures. Professor Hayes was much beloved by students and faculty at Columbia, where he taught for fifty years. His contribution was substantial and his influence will long endure. May he rest in peace.

WASHINGTON REPORT

Three Democratic Worries

NOTWITHSTANDING President Johnson's long lead in the public opinion polls, three political imponderables continue to worry Democratic Party strategists. They are the course of the Vietnam war, the "white backlash," and the impact of the President's personality. As for the war, the politicians, of course, can do nothing except prayerfully hope that the whole situation does not become unstuck between now and November. If the situation remains in status quo, the Democrats believe the President can fend off Senator Goldwater's criticisms with no great difficulty. But any drastic move, either toward a neutralization of South Vietnam by diplomatic means or a sharp increase in American military participation in order to prevent a Communist victory, would have an incalculable domestic impact.

The white backlash is an intriguing problem with which the politicians feel much more at home. For the past year both parties have buzzed with rumors and speculation that a really massive shift in white public opinion was underway as a reaction against the militant Negro protest movement and that this shift would have far-reaching political consequences. Samplings of public opinion by reporters and pollsters seemed to suggest that this white reaction existed both in middle and lower-middle class suburbs and in urban, working-class neighborhoods where people of second- and third-generation immigrant backgrounds feared the push of Negroes for better jobs and housing. Since the suburbs provide the fluid "swing vote" in most elections and the urban industrial workers provide the hard-core of

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Democratic Party strength, this white backlash, if it materialized, would pose severe dangers for the majority Democrats and severe temptations for the minority Republicans.

The white backlash undoubtedly does figure prominently in Republican calculations. Senator Goldwater and his advisers have cast the issue in what they regard as respectable terms by dwelling upon the need for law-and-order and deploring mobs roaming the streets. President Johnson, who is not only his party's candidate but also its chief worrier on matters great and small, is alert and responsive to this theme, perhaps too much so. Not a week has gone by in the past two months that the White House has not announced that the President has ordered the Federal Bureau of Investigation to look into some new local situation. Sending in the FBI has become the domestic equivalent of sending in the Marines. There are occasionally incidents when it is legitimate to use the FBI, such as those in some Deep South communities where the police will not do their job if Negroes are involved, or those that are genuinely interstate in character, but most of this dispatching of FBI agents hither and yon is being done for political reasons to offset Goldwater's cries. Law enforcement is a local responsibility and the federal government ought not to interfere.

It is an old truism in newspapers city rooms that a "crime wave" can be manufactured with a few angled stories and scare headlines. Much of the present bother about law-and-order and violence in the streets is as inflated as these periodic crime waves. There is a clear and depressing parallel with the exaggerated concern in the early 1950's with spies and security risks in the government. Once again, the political party out of power is inflating the problem and the party in power is over-reacting and trying to impress everyone with its vigilance and alertness.

THE DEMOCRATS, however, are taking a somewhat calmer view of the political implications of the white backlash since the Tennessee and Michigan primaries. In the Tennessee Democratic primary, Representative Ross Bass defeated Governor Frank Clement for the U.S. Senate nomination. Bass had voted for the Civil Rights Act, and Clement said he would not have voted for it in the form that it passed the Senate. Bass defended his vote firmly but he also counterattacked against Clement's record as governor.

In Michigan, as court-ordered reapportionment threw Representatives John Dingell and John Lesinski into the same congressional district. Lesinski, the only Northern Democrat to vote against the Civil Rights Act, was heavily favored to win since the new district is only slightly changed from the one he had represented for fourteen years, and it is 90 percent white. Lesinki, however, is a poor speaker and an ineffectual campaigner. Dingell had the backing of the United Auto mobile Workers and other trade unions, developed ar efficient organization, and proved a much more con vincing candidate. Although the "interloper" in the district, Dingell defeated Lesinski by more than 5,00(votes.

As against this development, however, a majority o the voters in Detroit approved in a referendum a so called "homeowners' rights ordinance" which wa backed by a coalition of conservative property owne groups and which, in effect, translates into law ar owner's "right" to be racially discriminatory in the sal of his property. The lawyer who was the chief pro ponent of this ordinance also led by a big margin in a citywide contest for a vacancy on the Common Council Neither of these victories is secure, however, since mos lawyers believe the homeowners' ordinance is uncon stitutional and its sponsor still has to go through a November runoff election to win his seat.

The tentative conclusion that Democrats are drawing from these results in Tennessee and Michigan is tha although some sentiment definitely does exist amon white voters against the Negro drive for equality, thi sentiment is not presently so strong that skillful politi cians cannot overcome it. Many Tennessee voter proved to be more concerned about Governor Clem ent's higher tax program and his various failures as a administrator than with his views on civil rights. Man Detroit voters, although understandably desirous c maintaining the status quo in their own neighborhood were not so agitated by racial feelings as to permi those feelings to dictate their choice of a congressmar

The white backlash appears strongest in elections fo local offices and grows progressively less important a one goes up the scale of power to congressman, gover nor, and President. When these higher offices are a stake, the personalities of the candidates, party loyalties and economic interests enter the picture and becom controlling. At least that is the hope and the guidin opinion of leading Democrats.

President Johnson, aside from his speeches and hi directives to the FBI, is relying upon the labor union and the campaigning of Senator Hubert Humphrey his vice-presidential running mate, to counter the back lash. The AFL-CIO has organized an educational pro gram to explain to its own members that their jobs an seniority rights are not endangered by the Civil Right Act. Humphrey is counted upon to remind workers i the big cities and less affluent suburbs of their ow economic self-interest and of the threat that a Gold water victory would pose to their social gains.

The third imponderable in the coming campaign the effectiveness of President Johnson's personal appea Although elections ought to turn primarily upon th issues, everyone recognizes that, in fact, personality often decisive, particularly in this age of television an

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)ublicity. The demonstration for Bobby Kennedy at he Democratic National Convention, which dwarfed .ny for President Johnson, showed not only the depth if sentiment that the Kennedy name evokes but also hat Mr. Johnson does not arouse this kind of electric esponse. Moreover, Senator Goldwater comes across)n television as a rugged, forthright fellow about whom nany people may be tempted to say, "I'm not sure I gree with him but he does speak his mind and is sin- ere." Many Democrats fear Goldwater might dupli- ate Harry Truman's startling upset victory of 1948 if, .ke Truman, he catches on with rank-and-file voters because of his candor and sincerity. Mr. Johnson, by contrast, may strike people as too bland.

To guard against this upset, Democratic politicians have urged the President to show himself as a folksy campaigner by making an extensive whistle-stopping train tour. He had hoped to rely primarily on television and on newspaper publicity as he campaigned from his desk in the White House as a "working President." He has rejected the idea of a train trip through the towns of the Middle West and Far West, but he has agreed to campaign more widely and actively than he had originally planned. WILLIAM V. SHANNON

(ERE AND THERE

The Bishops and the Thinkers

)URING the last session of the Ecumenical Council, ı Rome, I was asked to address a gathering of the .frican hierarchy. As a kind of preface, I told them hat up to then I had actually conversed with only two .merican bishops in my life. It was meant only as an side about a guest who was about to speak to a large piscopal gathering. Later, though, I discovered my omment was taken with great seriousness and too much ras read into it. It was supposed to show that laymen nd their bishops in America are not in touch with one nother.

The conclusion was unjustified. For the fact is that have been an extraordinarily bishop-shy Catholic all ıy adult life. To be sure, I never had the opportunity) turn down any episcopal invitations, but I never)ught out any, either. Practically every Catholic enter- rise with which I was ever associated, not least of all 'HE COMMONWEAL, has been held suspect at one time r another, and I suppose I took for granted that the ishops and I were destined to be forever operating n different wavelengths. The things that interested me ı Catholicism did not seem to be of much concern) the hierarchy, and the aspects of the Church—adminis- ·ation and organizational life—which necessarily took p a great deal of the bishops' attention were a bore) me. Moreover, as things turned out, I have lived : that frontier-point where Catholicism and modern ılture meet, or should meet, and this is almost totally)n-episcopal territory. So our paths rarely crossed, ıe bishops' and mine. And that was all right with me.

If the truth be told, I think I have always suffered om a kind of guilt complex where bishops are con- :rned. Over the years I have said things and written)lumns which contravened the usual party line, and was evident that many of the bishops used to take ·iticism of American Catholic life and polity as a :rsonal reflection on their leadership. Hence when I eet one of them even now my first thought is: "You ıve probably said something along the way that ruffled him—watch out."

I do not of course believe that I was truly guilty of anything, since I have always taken it that the freedom of the lay journalist (which the bishops by and large have allowed to a degree many outside the Church do not realize) should be used to stimulate self-criticism, discussion, dialogue, and intellectual life within the Church. But you can *feel* guilty even though you are rationally convinced of your innocence; hence even the possibility of meeting a bishop has long suggested that an ordeal may be in the offing.

The past year in Rome changed that somewhat, but only somewhat. After the address to the African hierarchy I met a dozen bishops, some of them Americans. At a reception last fall, for example, I was introduced to Cardinal Meyer. He said pleasantly that "these writers" were not as formidable as he thought they might be. I replied that these cardinals were not, either, and certainly there was nothing forbidding about the Archbishop of Chicago. Nor was it hard to talk to most of the other bishops, though some still give evidence of being trigger-happy in defense of their authority and dignity.

In that high-altitude atmosphere the realization came that the bishops too might have been suffering a guilty feeling for the long years of estrangement between them and the "thinkers." Certainly they had always seemed to be more comfortable with the totally deferential, unquestioning members of the flock than with the critical mavericks among the laity—and just as certainly I was not alone in feeling more at ease with the venturesome theologians, the questioning Catholics, the ex-Catholics who fought the battle for faith and lost, and the Protestants, Jews, agnostics, and atheists who are my friends in the non-episcopal territory.

This is not to say that the estrangement is a good thing. It is only to note that with a few exceptions it is the way things have been in the American Church. The "lay thinkers" (as opposed to "lay leaders") have

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not participated in the organizational life of the Church and have operated in isolation from the mass of Catholics, from most of their priests, and especially from their bishops.

Through the years a certain number of priests of the kind who do not ordinarily become monsignors or Fathers-Provincial served as unofficial chaplains to the "thinker" types, but it would be hard to name a single bishop who has been "in" with this group.

The easy way to explain this is to attribute it to a reverse snobbism. But was it that simple? I know from my own experience that it may just as easily have been a case of speaking boldly in the public forum and being tongue-tied in proper Catholic society because the "Catholic" atmosphere was not conducive to frank talk and the threat of a ten-ton episcopal defense bomb landing on you was always there. How does one talk back to a bishop?

Every now and then nowadays some Catholic magazine asks whether the articulate and presently well-publicized spokesmen for the "emerging layman" are really talking for the mass of layfolk. Do Daniel Callahan, Philip Scharper and Michael Novak, for example, represent a significant number of people? The answer is clearly no. The Ecumenical Council and all that has happened to American Catholicism in the last three or four years have been as much a shock to the average layman as to the average bishop, and notably to the laymen who were closest to the bishops in the years when the likes of COMMONWEAL editors thought it the better part of valor to steer clear of them.

This is not to say that a new *rapprochement* (if that is the word) between bishops and "lay thinkers" is imminent. But it does now seem to be possible, though I don't believe the bishops will find many chairmen of the fund-raising board, building-plan advisors, or even certified Lay Apostles among the laymen currently getting the publicity in the Catholic press.

THE QUESTION remains however: how close should the "lay thinkers" and the bishops be? Isn't it possibly better that they should continue to keep a certain distance from one another?

This may sound like an outrageous proposition, but I am not so sure it is. The fact that bishops and "lay thinkers" were not close in the past may have proved advantageous for both. For example, I was brought up on the Peter Maurin doctrine that you did not go to the bishop for official approval when you wanted to do something to manifest your faith in the temporal order; you just did it. That way you did not embarrass the bishop by involving him in something that might turn out badly and would imply a criticism of the *status quo* for which he felt responsible. You relieved him of responsibility for untried, pioneering ventures. If after you got started you were doing any real harm to the Church, it was his duty to stop you and you could depend on it, he would.

Most of the bishops seemed to operate in accordance with the same unwritten understanding. Hence most of the truly vital lay movements and publications operated "on their own" and survived without episcopal recognition. I have long suspected that many bishops, dismissing these movements as cranky and non-mainstream, did not have the faintest idea of what influence they were having; but some of the hierarchy certainly must have consciously pursued a hands-off policy. So you had the interesting fact that while the "lay leaders" were being decorated with medals and honorary degrees the "lay thinkers," who were actually changing the face of American Catholicism, were treated officially as if they were not there. Any undivorced Catholic star in Hollywood stood a better chance of getting an honorary degree than Dorothy Day.

The system worked well for all concerned as long as the bishop's role was confined to being an administrator and pastor. But now the Council has brought the bishops into the thick of the "thinking Church" where the issues are reform and renewal and ideas are as precious as city-hall contracts. The Big Catholic Laymen who over the years were magnificent financial advisors and fund chairmen were simply not trained to think along reform and renewal lines and can not be of much help.

Does this mean there will be a closer relationship between the bishops and the freewheeling Catholic intellectuals, writers, and journalists who long ago wandered off to the mission territory which American secularism dominates? Does it mean, for instance, that the bishops should give their attention to, or even confer their honors on, the half-alienated Catholics in the secular universities? Should they go as far as to consult the ex-Catholic intellectuals, many of whom went through torture over the faith question before taking the fatal step? In one way I wish they would. But again . . . perhaps to maintain the integrity of both sides it would be better not to remove totally the communication barriers of the past.

It was even a bit reassuring to read again in recent weeks a familiar old avuncular warning against hot-headed young men going too far and to see a headline "Laymen of Discretion Desperately Needed" in the Catholic press. The day when such nervous warnings are no longer deemed necessary is when we have to worry that the Church has finally domesticated its critics. A certain amount of alienation among the "thinkers," then, may be necessary for the intellectual life of the Church. An "established" intelligentsia could easily lose its bearings in the heady atmosphere of episcopal palaces. Maybe, to put it another way, it is better if "priest" and "prophet" do not get too palsy.

JOHN COGLEY

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The X Factor

IS THE "white backlash" a fact or simply a journalistic invention? Some liberals and labor leaders still deny flatly that there is any such thing. I can't see their reasoning. Even before the riots in Harlem, Rochester, Philadelphia and elsewhere, there were indications aplenty of the reality of a white backlash; to me, the phenomenal success of the Wallace candidacy in Wisconsin, Indiana and Maryland was proof conclusive.

Most white people, at least in the North, support the ultimate goals of human equality, desegregation, equal rights, etc., or so I believe. Where many of them disagree is on the methods chosen to attain these ends and in their estimate of how long this process should take. Thus the polls clearly show heavy white disapproval of Negro-backed methods like sit-ins, lie-ins, mass demonstrations and the like, peaceful or no. Even more of a problem is the question of timing. On this issue most white people tend to be gradualists, almost as a matter of course, while the Negro wants freedom now—or maybe yesterday.

Part of our problem is that few white men can put themselves in the Negro's place; they just don't know what it means to live in the Negro ghetto. And I really don't know how much help there is in something like *Time*'s story on Harlem of a couple of months ago.

Some parts of Harlem are nice enough, but a frightening amount of it is sheer jungle. According to *Time*, Harlem's worst streets are so crowded that if the same population density prevailed throughout New York City the entire population of the U.S. could be jammed into just three of its five boroughs. Rot is endemic. "Half of Harlem's buildings are officially classified as 'deteriorating' or 'dilapidated,' but no classification—official or otherwise—can adequately describe their garbage-strewn hallways and rotten, rickety staircases, their rat-infested rooms and grease-caked stoves where the roaches fight one another for space, their crumbling plaster and Swiss-cheese ceilings."

Harlem is a city of churches and of decent hardworking people. It is also a city of school drop-outs and derelicts, of dope addicts and hoodlums. It is said that during the rioting responsible Negro leaders lost control, but this is not quite accurate; no one "controls" the desperate, the homeless and the unemployed, and no one speaks for them either, unless it be the wilder offshoots of the Black Muslim and nationalist movements. The unemployment rate among Negro youth is twice as high as that among the rest of the population, and this is the tragedy; if there is no solution to the job problem, there is no solution to the Negro question.

When the average white person looks at Harlem—or at a *Time* story on Harlem—it is not the hard-working church-goer he sees but the derelict and the dope addict. This is natural enough; there is nothing very dramatic about the man—white or black—who goes off to work faithfully every day or to church every Sunday. But the result of this white myopia is simply an increase in repugnance or fear, so that the ultimate situation becomes worse rather than better.

The educated Negro militant, on the other hand, looks at Harlem and his immediate reaction is to push harder and harder for equality. He wants to put an end to conditions which promote school drop-outs and which encourage juvenile delinquency and adult irresponsibility. He wants political, economic and cultural equality, and—very importantly—he wants it on his timetable, not the white man's.

To get what he wants, the Negro militant pickets, he demonstrates, he sits-in. And every time he does, a certain number of white people react negatively, turning against the Negro and against the political leaders who seem to be on his side. I don't know about what Lyndon Johnson calls the "frontlash," but this, I take it, is what is meant by the white backlash, and I am convinced it represents Barry Goldwater's best—indeed perhaps his only—chance of winning the Presidency this fall.

Look at the situation. The South stopped being solid when Franklin Delano Roosevelt died. The Dixiecrats took four Southern states away from Harry Truman in 1948. Adlai Stevenson lost four the first time he ran and five the second. John F. Kennedy lost four in 1960; if he had lived I think he would have lost more this time.

It's true that Lyndon Johnson has the advantage of being a Southerner. Even so, it looks right now as if he will lose four Southern states—Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana and Florida—and that total may go higher. He can stand this, and he will try to make up for his losses by broad appeals to moderate and middle-class voters in the suburbs. What he cannot stand to lose, however, is the big-city vote, and this is precisely the X factor today.

Already there are in the cities disquieting signs that various nationality groups—heavily Catholic, let it be said—are turning sharply against the Democratic party on the race issue. The danger, of course, is that in the weeks ahead this reaction could mushroom as Republican orators extol "law and order," "safety on the streets," and the like. I agree that it would in this day and age be shameful if the race issue were to determine the outcome of a United States Presidential election; at this writing, though, I fear the possibility is frighteningly real.

JAMES O'GARA

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The Domestic Uses of the Cyprus Conflict

Turkey's Internal Crisis

SIDNEY LENS

Ankara

THE CYPRUS CRISIS gives the government of Ismet Inonu and his Republican People's Party a sorely needed breathing spell. It is a lame-duck regime which musters only one-third of the electorate and cannot possibly survive the scheduled elections of 1965. Its economy is in recession. Its five-year plan is not working as expected. Its people are uneasy over the execution of Adnan Menderes, who ruled from 1950 to 1960, and the more recent execution of Col. Talat Aydemir, who tried his hand at a military coup both in February and May 1963. It has only just lifted martial law after more than a year. Its hopes for stimulating private investment in this period of social uncertainty have been fruitless. And indeed it cannot be certain when voting takes place next year and the Justice Party—successor to Menderes' Democrat Party—wins, that there will not be another military coup such as the one that succeeded in 1960.

All of this, and more, should cause concern not only for Turkey but for the United States, which has been its prop for the entire postwar period. It is an ideal moment for reassessing American policy in this area.

Sixteen years ago President Truman promulgated his famous doctrine to save Turkey (and Greece) from Communism. The plan must have raised eyebrows in sophisticated circles because there was no Communist movement inside Turkey, and absolutely no danger of an *internal* revolt. In Greece there was actual civil war, but in the land of Kemal Ataturk no social tornadoes were blowing, no leftist revolutions were being plotted, either openly or clandestinely. If there was any danger to Turkey's sovereignty it was only a military one—Communist Bulgaria shared a common frontier of one hundred miles in the west, and the Soviet Union, two hundred and fifty miles in the east. Whether Russia actually had designs on Turkey is best left for the historians to decide, but the late 1940's were a time when American statesmen were determined to forge a "line" around Russia, and Turkey was an important part of that line. Moreover, it was considered an excellent ally, since the Turks had fought thirteen wars with Russia and hostility to the northern bear was therefore deeply ingrained.

As the Truman plan evolved it had both military and economic prongs. The United States lavished Turkey with $900 million in military equipment and sent in thousands of advisors to train its forces. The United States, in return, was permitted to establish military bases on Turkish soil, on which it mounted nuclear missiles, and undoubtedly practiced some of the arts of espionage. Whether Powers' U-2 plane took off from Turkey or Iran is still not entirely clear, but there can be no question that various monitoring activities are being conducted here.

The second prong was economic. Allies deserve help, particularly if they are as weak as Turkey, with a per capita income of $100 to $150 annually. It makes no sense to buttress a nation militarily if its economy is about to go bankrupt and revolutionary forces may overturn its government—as happened, for instance, in Iraq. In the sixteen years since Mr. Truman announced his program the United States has poured more than $3 billion into the cavernous pockets of the Turkish government, to assure economic and political stability. The money went for development projects, imports, food, technical assistance, training of specialists, education, loans to businessmen and many other ventures. It was comprehensive, and certainly generous, averaging out to more than $100 per person.

VIEWED superficially, the Truman plan has been a success. Turkey has not gone Communist; its land has not been invaded either by Russia or anyone else; there is a facade of institutions which lends the illusion of democracy. If this is all that America wanted, then the plan has been a great boon. But if the criteria are humanistic, instead of military, there is grave question as to whether the American people have gotten their money's worth. In the same sixteen years many other nations—on both sides of the Iron Curtain—have made phenomenal progress in improving the lot of their people. But Turkey's gains have not only been tenuous, but minimal.

Here is the government's own estimate of its situation:

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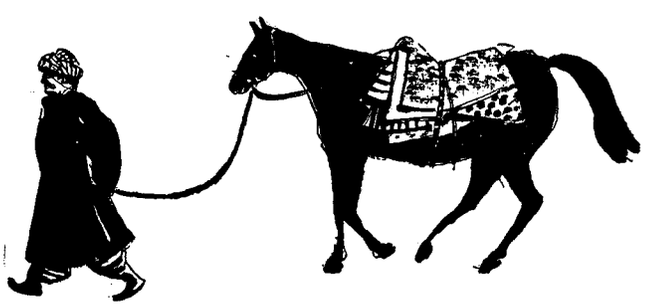
"Great masses live in very primitive conditions without the benefits of civilization . . . Of the population of school age and above, 60 percent is illiterate. Fifty-three percent of the villages and 55 percent of the small towns have either no drinking water or not enough. Sixty-nine percent of the population is without electricity. Out of every 1,000 babies born, 165 die in the first year. Two and a half percent of the population has tuberculosis. There is one medical doctor for every 4,000 inhabitants and in the hospitals one nurse for every 111 beds. There are 60 students for every school teacher and 25-30 villages to every agricultural expert. On the average, there are 2.7 persons per residential room in the cities and 2.1 in the villages. Thirty percent of the city dwellings are in very poor condition and not fit for habitation. In the three biggest cities, 30 percent of the population live in single-room dwellings. The number of people living in *gecekondus* (shacks) is 1.2 million."

Obviously no country which has absorbed four billion dollars in aid could have failed to do something. Since 1950, for instance, illiteracy has gone down by six or seven percent. The number of children in school has almost doubled. The percentage of people in rural areas has been reduced from eighty to seventy. The number of factory workers—still only a third of a million—is twice what it was in the early years of the Truman plan, indicating a degree of industrialization. Some progress has been made in fighting disease.

But when all is said and done neither we nor the 30 million Turks have much to cheer about. About one-half of Turkey's peasants have no land. The vast majority in the rural areas live on a purely subsistence level. Agricultural yield in the last thirty years has gone up—despite large-scale innovations in the Adana area and the introduction of cash crops like cotton—by less than one percent a year. Per capita income is the lowest of any of the E.E.C. countries, including even Greece. The average Turk lives on about $175 a year—Greece, $400; Communist Yugoslavia, about $500.

DESPITE insistent pressure by U.S. labor attachés and the AFL-CIO, Turkish unions did not win the right to bargain or to strike until July 24, 1963. Since then they have boosted wages for their own 420,000 members by a healthy nine percent, but the average wage is only $1.65 a day, and a million or more of agricultural workers survive on half that. These men are not yet covered by bargaining rights, or any form of social security. As for unemployment, no one knows the exact figure, but one American says "it's a hell of a lot." The jobless are so numerous that the outskirts of Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir are oceans of *gecekondus*, populated by hapless men who have nothing to do and little to hope for. Fifty thousand Turks are "exported" to West Germany alone, where they work at jobs they cannot find at home.



"We lost ten years from 1950 to 1960," says a spokesman of the Ministry of Information, "and now we are in the midst of a recession."

Other government leaders seek to paint a rosier picture, at least of the last two years. It is claimed, for instance, that gross national product went up by six percent in 1962 and 6½ percent in 1963. But leading planners, who resigned from government service because their proposals were not adopted, point out that much of the gain went to building up inventories, and there has been virtually no increase either in retail sales or consumption. Except for a couple of hundred thousand organized workers, the man on the street is worse off than he was a few years ago. The five-year plan, they say, looks good on paper. But government industry—almost half the total—is operating at a loss in many fields, such as railroads, and private capitalists refuse to invest. The plan, for instance, called for 135 million Turkish lira to be spent in the machine industry, but private *entrepreneurs* invested only 16 million; it called for 96 million lire in electrical machinery, but only 9 million was forthcoming. These are highly important import-replacement industries, which might mitigate the yearly balance of trade deficits. But they are drawing no support.

The land reform, envisioned in the five-year plan, has not yet gotten off the ground, mainly because the regime is unwilling to tax its 10,000 landlord friends. Since April of this year both investment and consumption have been tapering off. When you consider that 1950-1960 were supposedly "lost years" and 1960-61 were years of military rule and economic stagnation, you can fill out the picture of a mired society that is going nowhere.

POLITICALLY the situation is equally uncertain. After ten years of Menderes the officer caste decided in 1960 to execute a military coup d'état—which in government documents is now referred to as "the revolution." Thirty-eight officers overthrew the regime of Menderes in a bloodless venture. But almost before success had crowned their efforts it was obvious that fourteen of the officers were unhappy. One of them was Aydemir, who, with the help of military cadets, tried later to initiate new coups. Ten others were socialists—of the

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Nasser type—led by Orhan Kabiby and Orhan Erkanli, who were first exiled to military attaché posts abroad and have now been divorced from the military entirely. For almost forty years, since Kemal Ataturk led the nation to independence in 1923, the military never tried to impose its will on civilian government by force. Now it has tried three times—succeeding once—and there is no guarantee it will not try again.

Menderes' Democrat Party which was supposed to have been relegated to limbo, reorganized into three parties after elections were permitted in 1961, but is now entirely channeled into the Justice Party. In two recent polls, last year and this, Justice gained 49.8 percent of the vote. This is not a raging "leftist" party—in fact it is somewhat more conservative than Inonu's Republican Party—but it is the reservoir for discontent by peasants who remember a few gains under Menderes, workers who are alienated by Menderes' execution, and capitalists who are opposed to the Inonu theories of "étatism," state ownership of basic segments of the economy such as steel, tobacco, cement, sugar, coal, and so on.

In the last two years a Turkish Labor Party has been formed and has gained support in intellectual circles, as well as some in the rubber and construction unions, and in hundreds of villages. Its leaders expect to win five to ten percent of the vote in 1965, which should make it the third party in the country. "Even thougl we are not permitted to organize our party amongs peasants," says one of its spokesmen, "we find it simpl to draw them to our side. Their conditions are s abysmal, they listen to any voice that offers some hope."

Hope is the one commodity that seems to be missin from the Turkish political basket. For the time being the two major parties can deflect the popular emotio from their own pressing problems to Cyprus, becaus nationalist sentiments run high. The foreign office seek to feed the masses on the notion that if Cyprus is in corporated into Greece, Turkey will be completely sur rounded, and that if Greece should some day becom Communist, Turkey's position would become untenabl As any military expert will testify, this is 19th centur thinking. Russia does not need bases in Cyprus to ove whelm Turkey's 400,000-man army; its missiles an rockets can lay the nation to waste from Soviet so alone.

The Cyprus crisis is being used more for domesti purposes than for anything else. It camouflages the rea crises—the economic and political stagnation of th country, as well as the sorry history of the countr since 1947. Whatever its outcome, Turkey—and Americ —will still be confronted with the job set sixteen yea ago of making the nation stable, of bringing its peopl to 20th century living standards.

Ecclesiam Suam—I

Pope Paul on the Church

MICHAEL NOVAK

POPE PAUL'S first encyclical is, he says, "a fraternal and informal message." Explicitly, it does not serve a solemn doctrinal function. It is written with the modest hope "of revealing our mind to you." Thus it concentrates on "attitudes," "dispositions of heart," "methodological considerations." It is an incomparable document for assessing the present temper of the Bishop of Rome.

Unquestionably, the Pontiff is divided in his allegiance. Most of parts one and two of the encyclical seem to be written by a totally different hand, by a man of a totally different viewpoint, than the prologue and part three. There are serious philosophical contradictions between these parts. Parts one and two a cartesian in outlook and dualistic, almost docetic, i their ecclesiology; they have certainly been written b or influenced by, Roman theologians of a classical ca of mind. Part three, on the other hand, goes far beyon the thought of Pope John XXIII in the thoroughne of its assimilation of an historical view of the Churc and in its respect for the maturity and manners of co temporary society.

In part one, on the self-awareness of the Churc there are several paragraphs especially in which phras and conceptions recur, which are reminiscent of th infamous talk given by Monsignor Tondini, Secreta of Latin Briefs (who stands beside Pope Paul in th photographs of the signing of *Ecclesiam Suam*), at th conclave before Pope Paul was elected. For exampl

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the encyclical speaks with trepidation of the "great transformations, upheavals and developments" which mankind is undergoing. "All of this, like the waves of an ocean, envelops and agitates the Church. . ." Even men in the Church are so much influenced "that a danger bordering almost on vertiginous confusion and bewilderment can shake the Church's very foundations and lead men to embrace most bizarre ways of thinking. . ."

We must learn to expect these moments of Roman dizziness, it appears, until Roman intellectual life rejoins the intellectual life of the rest of the race. The dizziness is a symptom of the acute fear generated in many Roman hearts, taught to believe that truth is narrow, clear and orderly, when faced with the prospect of communicating with the intellectual life of the contemporary world. This fear is not in evidence in part three of this encyclical; nor in the previous public statements of Archbishop and then Cardinal Montini.

THERE IS, however, a progression from parts one and two of the encyclical to part three. It appears that Pope Paul, presiding over a Church divided more deeply than many suspect between *Romanità* and catholicity, began with the most narrow conceptions of the former and then proceeded to argue the case for the latter. It was part three, on the dialogue with contemporary atheism, which Pope Paul announced in 1963 as the subject of his first encyclical; and it is to part three that he especially points in the warm, earnest prologue.

That prologue reveals the modesty and humility, the intensity and sensitivity, of Pope Paul. In it, he refers again and again to his desire to reflect on the situation of the Church *today*, and to sort out from among "a hundred forms of possible contacts" between the Church and the world those which today give most promise of success. At the beginning of part one, the Pope recognizes that revelation was given in an historical context, and seems to wish to follow up this theme. But then the paragraphs noted above and references to Modernism, Leo XIII's *Satis Cognitum,* and Pius XII's *Mystici Corporis* intervene.

This series of references, especially that to Modernism, is typical of certain Roman obsessions. Two paragraphs at this point are especially striking. The writer tries to define the intellectual method "characteristic of the mentality of modern man." He describes a method of reflex consciousness, proper to the seventeenth century but repudiated by contemporary philosophers. The writer wants us to be clear that this method leads to conclusions that are abstruse, barren, contradictory and radically fallacious." But, in a burst of open-mindedness, he wants next to recognize that this method is highly appreciated" in the modern world (which it is not), and is, with certain adjustments, capable of proving to man "the fact of his own existence, of his own spiritual dignity, and of his own ability to know and to act." Most modern philosophers, in rejecting such a method, would deny its "proofs." The theologians of *Romanità* are out of touch with the philosophies of the rest of the world.

Part two, on the renewal of the Church, begins with the dualism which is the fruit of a cartesian epistemology. Later in the encyclical Pope Paul will view the Church in a more Scriptural manner, as a people on pilgrimage. Here the encyclical reads: "Perfect as she is the ideal conception of her founder, the Church should tend towards becoming perfect in the real expresssion of her earthly existence." There are two Churches in the background of this part of the encyclical, one ideal and one real, instead of the one concrete Church which God knows through and through. This dualism generates the gap between real and ideal, which Roman prudence and triumphalism attempt to fill.

But again the Pope's thought returns to questions of history, of the "fresh nourishment" provided in the Church "from century to century." Historical conditions influence the Church "in a thousand ways." Catholics live in the world; they "breathe its culture, accept its laws, and absorb its customs." This immanent contact of Church and world "continually creates for her a problematic situation, which today has become extremely difficult."

Then a Roman hand turns once more to the realm of ideals and essences, beyond change. "The reform cannot concern either the essential conception of the Church or its basic structure." Nothing is said about what method will lead us to decide what is essential and basic in the self-awareness of the Church. A sentence often heard on curial lips in 1963 recurs: "If the term reform can be applied to this subject, it is not to be understood in the sense of change, but of a stronger determination to preserve the characteristic features which Christ has impressed on the Church." The word reform is too strong for those who are preserving an historical culture; and the effort of recovering the sources is too self-critical.

"We should rather always wish," the encyclical goes on about the Church, "to lead her back to her perfect form, corresponding, on the one hand, to her original design . . ." But then the writer seems to recall the excrescences of *Romanità*: ". . . and on the other fully consistent with the necessary development which like a seed grown into a tree has given the Church her legitimate and concrete form in history." But what has happened to "the problematic" of which the Pope has just written? This section is a defense of *Romanità*; about that, there is no problematic. It warns against thinking that "the edifice of the Church, which has become larger and majestic for the glory of God as His magnificent temple, should be reduced to its early

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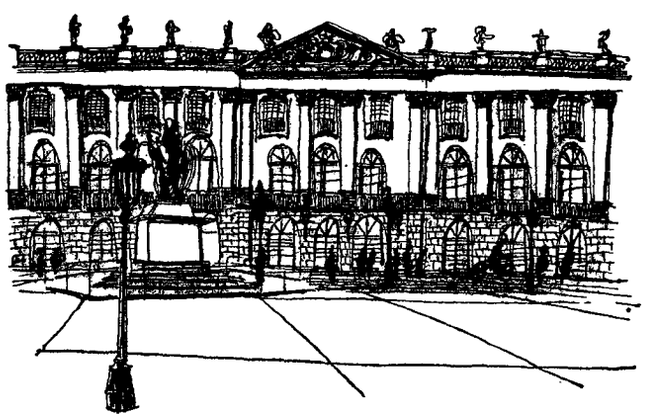
minimal proportions." It also warns against trying to renew the Church "through the charismatic way," through conscience and the Holy Spirit. These warnings seem to be a slap at Scripture scholars and at Cardinal Suenens, with his unsettling talk of charisms in the Church.

Appeal is made to docility "before truth and the authority of approved masters." Reference is made to those "not well rooted in faith and in the observance of ecclesiastical law." The young clergy are warned not to "get mixed up with" the groups they serve, "instead of remaining apart." These references will seem defensible, like counsels of prudence, but they are counsels of fear. They are pure *Romanità*.

IT IS AT this point, half way through the encyclical, that Pope Paul takes hold; the tone and the feeling become once again those of the prologue. "However, it is not our intention to say that perfection consists in remaining changeless as regards external forms which the Church through many centuries has assumed. Nor does it consist in being stubbornly opposed to those new habits and forms which are commonly regarded as acceptable and suitable to our times." He appeals to Pope John's word *aggiornamento*, "which should always be kept in mind as our program of action." He speaks of "placing confidence in the liberty of the modern Christian, with his greater knowledge of his duties and his greater wisdom and maturity in choosing the means to fulfill them." For such Christians, too, he sees, the law "retains its essential binding force," and the Christian life still requires "fidelity, effort, mortification and sacrifice."

There is an enormous change of style going on in the Catholic way of holiness and fidelity. Pope Paul shows himself a master of that style in part three, in the dialogue with the contemporary world. Like many another modern, he eschews "naive optimism" and the "crude form of pessimism" which afflict many in our age. He wishes the Church to announce its good news through "the legitimate means of human education, of interior persuasion, of ordinary conversation . . . with full respect for personal and civic freedom." He says



that in theory the Church could isolate itself from th secular world, could condemn evils in the secular worl and declare crusades against them, could use pressur and even theocratic power. But he believes that th relationship between the Church and the world "i better represented in a dialogue." He has borrowe this idea from contemporary ways "of conceiving th relationships between the sacred and the secular i terms of the transforming dynamism of modern so ciety . . . likewise in terms of the maturity of man be he religious or not, enabled through secular educa tion to think, to speak, and to act through the dignit of dialogue."

The passages which follow are a thorough repudia tion of the methods of *Romanità*. They insist upo clarity, conversation in a low key, trust, sensitivity diversity, fresh methods and approaches. Moreover, th Pope sees that the forms of dialogue are many an that the crucial question is to meet history on its ow terms, yet without yielding to relativism. "The worl cannot be saved from the outside." He speaks like th Cardinal Suhard of *The Church Today: Growth o Decline*? He speaks several times, in a matter-of-fac manner, of "the human weaknesses and failing" of th Church. He tries explicitly to avoid triumphalism an not "to be out of touch with reality as regards the ac tual relations of mankind with the Catholic Church. And he makes an effort to sort out empirically the dif ferent circles of men to whom the Church is tryin to speak.

It is this empirical method which is of most im portance in the Pope's encyclical. He tries to estimat what nonbelievers think, and attempts to wrestle wit the reasons for their non-belief, as he sees them. Hi efforts are not always as nuanced as those of othe Catholics who have recently grappled with contem porary unbelief; but they are moving in a fruitful di rection, and he seems to see, sadly, that Catholics hav not thought sufficiently about contemporary philosoph to have much to offer the nonbeliever: "Is there no on among us who could help him. . .?"

The Pope's statement about Communism is perfectl Johannine: "It is not so much that we condemn thes systems and regimes as that they express their radica opposition to us in thought and deed." He solidifies Pop John's efforts at dialogue with Communism by repeat ing the very principles of Pope John, citing *Pacem i Terris* by name, in spite of the furious assault that ha been leveled on these principles by many in Rome including the Vatican Radio itself.

The Pope refers to separated Christian churches a churches, and states quite frankly his distress that s many regard the papacy as the main stumbling-block He stresses that the aim of the papacy is not "a su premacy of spiritual pride and human domination," bu "a primacy of service, of ministration, of love." H

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nakes clear that the primary principle of the Church s charity, and that obedience, while necessary in any ociety, is secondary.

"The Church today is more than ever alive. But it eems good to consider that everything still remains to e done. The work begins today and never comes to n end. This is the law of our temporal, earthly pil- grimage." The voice of part three is not the voice of ion-historical orthodoxy. Meditating on parts one and two, we should recall that John XXIII bowed one way as often as he bowed another, and only in retrospect does *Pacem in Terris* tower above *Veterum Sapientia* so as to obscure the latter from view. Pope Paul VI is presiding over the transition from *Romanità* to Catholicity, and the forces of *Romanità* are, in Rome, much stronger, more determined, and helplessly unaware of of the rest of the world than intelligent men elsewhere find easy to excuse.

Ecclesiam Suam—II

Development and Awareness

ROBERT W. HANNING

N MANY RESPECTS, *Ecclesiam Suam* was the most agerly awaited papal utterance of recent years. It has een a long time coming, and it comes at a time when here is a great and increasing desire to know more recisely what the Pope's attitude may be toward onciliar voices urging *aggiornamento,* and what his ole will be in the forthcoming session. *Ecclesiam Suam* as also been anticipated as the first encyclical of the ost-Johannine era; it follows in the footsteps of, and *ipso facto* comments upon, *Mater et Magistra* and *Pacem n Terris.*

Because of all these expectations, it might be said hat *Ecclesiam Suam* had two strikes against it before t was written. And since it is now obvious to all that 'ope Paul is not cut from the same colorful, richly- extured cloth as his predecessor, there is some danger hat we will let our estimate of *Ecclesiam Suam* be nduly colored by the mere fact that it was *not* written y John XXIII.

Such a mistake may in fact have been made, for nstance, by the New York *Times.* Since Paul's election, he *Times* has opted for an image of him as the "Hamlet n Peter's throne"—the brooding intellectual, fascinated y the factions within the Church and reluctant or nable to choose decisively among them. According to his view, Paul is basically sympathetic to the idea of *ggiornamento,* but under his guidance the translation f that idea into practice has been considerably slowed lown.

Similarly, suggests the *Times, Ecclesiam Suam* is es- entially a neutral document, in which the Pope weighs the problems confronting the Church in the modern world and presents a series of carefully balanced appraisals, now encouraging the liberals, now soothing the conservatives.

This "balanced" view of Pope Paul and of his encyclical is attractive, but a closer reading of the encyclical reveals, I believe, a few features which show Pope Paul moving in a definite direction. Specifically, the encyclical reveals his own particular, intellectual perception of the energies latent within the paradoxical nature of the Church on earth. In addition, he offers a prescription for their release and creative harnessing which, if translated into action by Vatican II and by the Pope's own future behavior, should prove as exciting in its way as John's great teachings and example were in theirs.

THE MOST "newsworthy" pronouncements of the encyclical—the press and the public noticed them and will remember—come in the prologue and in section III, the section on the Dialogue. The Pope's offer to mediate international disputes threatening the peace; his views on the Church's relationship to Communism, atheism, and the major religions—this is the stuff of headlines. And in these parts of the encyclical it is easy to point out the balancing of a desire for initiative with a cautious prudence as supporting data for the "Hamlet" theory.

Thus, the Church seeks ways to enter into fruitful dialogue with the world, but must stay apart from the world and not be stained by it. Thus, dialogue with Communism and atheism is "difficult, not to say impossible," but the door must never be completely shut. Thus, the Church seeks greater understanding with

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other religions but must not forget that it holds the deposit of faith. And so on.

There is nothing here to surprise any Catholic, but also little to encourage anybody else. In assessing the Dialogue section of *Ecclesiam Suam,* however, it is a great mistake to isolate it from what has gone before. The key to Pope Paul's attitude toward dialogue lies in the preceding section, on Renewal; similarly, the section on Renewal is grounded in the basic insight of the first section, on Awareness. In other words, the encyclical is an organic unity which develops its meaning and direction from part to part, rather than a series of parallel but unrelated statements. The overriding idea controlling the entire development is, fittingly enough, the very concept of development itself, as applied to the Church and to the individual Christian. Pope Paul places continual emphasis on development throughout *Ecclesiam Suam;* the very word appears a dozen times, with the great concentration of specific references coming in the prologue and in the section on Awareness. Development refers to the process by which the Holy Spirit continually unfolds within the Church new and richer levels of understanding of doctrinal truths contained in Christ's teachings. It refers as well to the corresponding evolution of the forms of the Church in the world, so that the ecclesiastical institutions are always in complete and fitting correspondence with the current understanding of the Church's doctrine.

Pope Paul speaks in the prologue of "the actual image which the church projects today, faithful, through the grace of God, to the features which its divine founder imparted to it and which, through the course of the centuries, the Holy Spirit has energized and developed. . . . " This image, he goes on to say, is "never as perfect . . . as that formative divine idea would wish it to be," and must therefore undergo its own continual development and renewal. (Behind much of the current interest in the Church's development lies Cardinal Newman's seminal study, *The Development of Christian Doctrine.*)

POPE PAUL's undemonstrative but thorough dependence upon the concept of development establishes it as a *leitmotif* binding together the various sections of *Ecclesiam Suam.* It is clear that Paul thinks of development as closely allied with the idea of awareness, since it is in the first section that development figures most explicitly. Leaving the nature of this relationship aside for the moment, we may state as an initial discovery: the Pope shows a commitment to a continuous process of perfecting the forms and methods of the Church.

Development is thus not only the once-in-a-lifetime climax of a Vatican II, but the result of a permanent *modus operandi.* This is good news in its own right, and evidence as well against the cautious balancing of attitudes which the section on Dialogue may manifest at first glance.

In discussing any of the balances struck by Pope Paul in *Ecclesiam Suam* we must distinguish between indecision on the Pope's part and his frank recognition of paradox and resultant tension. The former attitude can easily lead to frustration and inaction, while the latter, quite to the contrary, promotes an atmosphere of excitement, inviting mature minds to take up a challenge, the meeting of which can result in effective, not merely sensational action.

Now Pope Paul's balances, by his own admission, look back to the words of Jesus in John xvii, concerning the disciples who will be left behind in the world, but whom He will ask His Father to guard from the world. In the Renewal section, Paul says, "the great principle enunciated by Christ presents itself both in its actuality and in its difficulty: to be in the world and not of the world." And at the beginning of the Dialogue section he returns to "the above-mentioned prayer of Jesus for His disciples" and adds, "and the Church adopts this prayer as its own. But this distinction [between Church and world] is not a separation. . . . When the Church distinguishes itself from human nature, it does not oppose itself to human nature, but rather unites itself to it."

HERE is the subtle play of paradox, not the non-commitment of excessive prudence! Perhaps it does take a cautious intellectual to build major parts of an encyclical around an appreciation of paradox—but it is noteworthy that this is a paradox the creative tension and excitement of which has perhaps been less noticed by the "curial party" than by any other group. Their attitudes and policies rest on a belief in the opposition between the "Roman culture" of post-Tridentine Catholicism and the modern world; to them, it often seems, the Church is "in the world, but against it"—a formulation far less provocative and energizing than that of the Johannine gospel.

Paradox, then, lies beneath the surface of the whole question of dialogue, and, as I have intimated, also of renewal, since Paul sees John xvii as a central text in both sections II and III. How does this paradox translate itself into action, and how is it related to the idea of development (or development-with-awareness) which I claim is so basic to *Ecclesiam Suam*? Renewal of the Church, Pope Paul notes in section II, faces the special problem of the Church's being in but not of the world. For the Church must take full account of the world in its present state in deciding what form ecclesiastical renewal must pursue in any given age. In one of his balancing statements, Paul says that, while the Church must remain undefiled by the world, "Christian life should not only be adapted to the forms of thought and custom which the temporal environment

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offers and imposes on her, provided they are compatible with the basic exigencies of her religious and moral programs, but it should also try to draw close to them to purify them, to enable them, to vivify and to sanctify them."

Thus renewal is not simply an act of internal rehabilitation on the part of the Church, but the creation and re-creation of a mutual interrelationship with the world. In other words, renewal shades imperceptibly into dialogue. The aim of this double process is to "lead [the Church] back to her perfect form corresponding, on the one hand, to her original design, and on the other fully consistent with the necessary development which like a seed grown into a tree has given to the Church her legitimate and concrete form in history."

So it seems that the relationship between the paradoxical link of the Church with the world and the Church's development is a complex and important one. It is only by a constant, creative reinterpretation of the paradox, and by an application of the results of reinterpretation to the forms and actions of the Church that the true development of Christian doctrine can shine through to the world. The work of renewal and dialogue becomes, in this view, a work of close and necessary cooperation with the Holy Spirit itself. No one would deny the excitement inherent in such a program of cooperation.

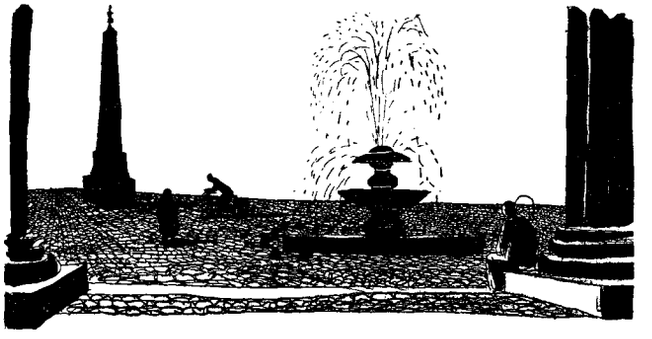
But if dialogue looks back to renewal, so renewal looks back to awareness. It is with regard to awareness that the Pope's "progressive" use of development really clarifies itself. The link between renewal and awareness is implicitly rather than explicitly stated in the important passage in section II where Paul says, "The church will rediscover her renewed youthfulness not so much by changing her exterior laws as by interiorly assimilating her true spirit of obedience to Christ and accordingly by observing those laws which the church prescribes for herself with the intention of following Christ." At first glance, this statement seems to aim a blow at meaningful reform. Such is not the case, however. What Paul is decrying is an unconsidered "face-lifting," undertaken with the sole aim of making the church seem up-to-date in the twentieth (or any) century.

The interior assimilation of the Church's spirit to Christ and to the laws which she (through Pope and councils) prescribes for herself is, I think, a description of the process which Paul labels awareness in section I. There he proposes a state of heightened awareness of the nature of Christ and of the Church's prime function as the voice of Christ in the world; here, in the passage just quoted, he returns to the interior encounter with Christ as the basis of renewal.

Again, however, we must grasp the context of awareness: in section I, Paul makes it clear that awareness is inseparable from action; thus the wellspring of all Christian action, not simply renewal, is Christian awareness. The aware Christian will not simply adopt a just cause; he will constantly measure his life against that of Christ, and act accordingly. Such action Paul labels "vigilance," adopting the words of Jesus in Matthew xxvi. "It is true," he says, "that this warning of our master [i.e., to be vigilant] has to do principally with man's final destiny, be it proximate or remote in time. But precisely because this vigilance should also be present and operative in the conscience of the faithful servant, it determines his everyday behavior, characteristic of the Christian in the world."

SO IT WOULD appear that the continual development of the Church is ultimately a reflex of Christian awareness. In what is perhaps the most important passage in the encyclical, Pope Paul points out how from the very beginning the Church was a developing body, depending in the Holy Spirit through the dynamic awareness of the first Christians and of the evangelists themselves. The text deserves quotation *in extenso:* "It is easy to discover in the Gospel a continuous appeal to rectitude of thought and action. . . . Did not Jesus Christ himself call for the kingdom of God to be received interiorly? Is not His whole pedagogy an exhortation and initiation to the interior life? Psychological awareness and moral conscience are both called by Christ to a simultaneous maturity. . . . And this awareness of the disciple will later become his recollection [in Matthew xxvi. 75, Luke xxvi. 8, and John xiv. 26, xvi. 4, as referred to in footnotes at this point] of what Jesus had taught and of what had taken place around Him.

"It will develop and grow in understanding who He was and what He taught and did. The birth of the Church and the enlightening of her prophetic consciousness are the two characteristic events which coincide with Pentecost, and together they will progress. The Church [will progress] in her organization and in the development of her hierarchy and of the body of the faithful, [while] the awareness of her own vocation, of her own mysterious nature, of her own doctrine, [and] of her own mission will accompany this gradual development, according to the desire of St. Paul: 'And this is my prayer for you. May your love grow richer and



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richer yet, in the fullness of its knowledge and the depth of its perpection.'"

This passage holds the key to Paul's overall sense of the Church, a sense which presumably led to the composition of *Ecclesiam Suam* as his first encyclical. The pontiff's own awareness of the church is in keeping with the latest biblical scholarship, as this passage shows, particularly the words on the development of the disciple's awareness into an "understanding [of] who He was and what He taught and did." Biblical scholars generally believe that the first Christians came to realize only gradually the full import of Christ's life and message. According to this analysis of the Gospels, Christianity was *essentially* a religion of doctrinal and ecclesiastical development based on heightened individual awareness of Christ's message. Pope Paul feels that this relationship between awareness and development has not changed, and, as he says a bit later, the secret of achieving awareness today is to have "all men make a living, profound, and conscious act of faith in Jesus Christ our Lord." In other words, today, as in the first or any other century, the Church should solicit "the enlightening of her prophetic consciousness" in such a way that awareness will result in renewal and renewal in dialogue.

It is surely no coincidence that the "new Paul" should begin his reign with a letter to the Church on the Church, in imitation of his namesake, and then have a climactic passage of the letter culminate in words of the original Paul on the "development" of charity, that key Pauline concept. It is, in fact, a testimony to the later Paul's understanding of the dynamism inherent in the earlier Paul's ideas of the Church and its charitable mission in the world. As the Pope says in section II, "Is it not to charity that the progress of spiritual experience in the Church leads? . . . Is not this, perhaps, the hour of charity?" Charity, too, is intimately involved in the development of the Church.

If my reading is correct, the structure of *Ecclesiam Suam,* the interdependence of its key concepts, is something of an intellectual *tour de force.* But it is more: it is a call to action, to a complete renovation of our participation in the life and career of the Church. The dynamic interplay of "psychological awareness and moral consciousness," and the realization of what it means to be "in the world but not of it" could, if allowed to spread through the Church, generate new energies (to use an expression used by the Pope in another context) of the greatest importance to the world as a whole.

Such energy Pope John possessed—and liberated—in abundance. On the basis of *Ecclesiam Suam,* I do not think we can doubt that John's successor has a worthy and exciting vision of *aggiornamento,* and we must now hope and pray that from such awareness will soon develop new triumphs of renewal and of dialogue.

THE SCREEN

End of Summer

NO SUMMER that brings forth American films as gooc as "Behold a Pale Horse" and "The Night of the Iguana' (both made abroad) and foreign pictures like "Gir with Green Eyes," "The Organizer" and "That Mai from Rio" could be considered a cinematic loss. Bu the summer also brought middling stuff, movies tha should be of interest for one reason or the other bu ranged in quality from fairly good to downright punk Here's a hasty run-down of some of these that are stil on our screens and may continue to be around till th leaves fall.

As far as I know, "Kisses for My President" is th first movie about a first woman President of the Unite States; and as far as I'm concerned this tasteless affai produced and directed by Curtis Bernhardt can be th last. While the basic plot is something new, the movi itself is so loaded with clichés and predictable scene that you're ahead of it most of the time. Polly Berge makes a pretty and serious-minded Madame Presiden and Fred MacMurray hams up the role of the em barrassed, always-in-the-way "First Lady" in his bes Egg-and-I manner. I doubt, however, if even Margaret Chase Smith and Victor Moore in the lead roles coul have saved this one-joke comedy.

Even more tasteless, although perhaps for more legit imate reasons, is "A House Is Not a Home," whic stems from the memoirs by Polly Adler who traced he career as a New York madame during the Prohibitio Era. In its left-handed, vulgar way this is a sort c Horatio Alger rags-to-riches story following Polly (Shel ley Winters) from a Brooklyn sweatshop to a Manhat tan apartment set up by a bootlegger-gangster (Robe Taylor) where her girls entertain his rum runner an politician guests, and then through the sordid year crowded with racketeers, corrupt police, underworl and political bosses (mostly with Irish and Italia names), and a steady stream of prostitutes managed b Polly Adler, who finally hits the top in her Park Avenu penthouse. Some of the sociological aspects of all thi are interesting, but the cheaply-made, poorly-acte picture is obviously more interested in sensationalisr than sociology. Perhaps its makers would agree wit Polly: "To me, it wasn't a question of morals—but ecc nomics."

The first half of "Station Six—Sahara" is fascinatin in spite of the familiarity of the situation. The five me stuck in an isolated oil station way out in the hot dese don't really hate each other but they're ready to bas each other's heads in just for the fun of it or to reliev the boredom. In charge of the station is a cool, calm mean German of the blond, handsome Master Rac

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ype (Peter Van Eyck); and working for him are a nobbish English toady (Denholm Elliott), a wacky, ulgar, Scotch joker (Ian Bannen), a strong, decent, nti-nazi German (Jorg Felmy), and a quiet Latin who ays nothing but takes everything in (Mario Adorf). Then, wham! A blond sex symbol (named Carroll Baker) descends on this sex-starved, quarreling five-ome. All hell breaks loose. And so does the movie which was pretty good up to that point but gets rather illy when the men start vying, and Carroll, believe it or not, has practically nothing on beneath her ermine oat. She should have worn mink.

There's not much new about "The New Interns"—a ew new faces that weren't in "The Interns" of a couple f years ago, and a few slightly different episodes. But n the whole, the pattern is so much the same, with ll those busy young doctors and interns and their wives nd girls and nurses and bosses, that one can hardly tell f he's seeing the new film or the old. Everyone seems o have a story—romantic, grim, psychological, and everal other varieties—and there are so many dramas going on at one time that the picture is more like a eries of TV's Kildare and Casey episodes strung to-gether than anything else. Since "The Interns" was such hit with the movie-going public, its makers hoped to epeat the formula. They did, alas.

Also repeating a past success is "A Shot in the Dark," which brings back the inept Paris detective Jacques Clouseau who is again played by Peter Sellers. Intro-luced in "The Pink Panther," which was also produced, irected and co-authored by Blake Edwards, Clouseau vas wacky and funny and bumbling in trying to solve gem theft. "Shot" carries the detective's bumbling and s own exaggerated jokes so far out that the whole hing becomes more a test of the audience's survivability han a real entertainment. Those who didn't see Panther" may enjoy the repetitious slapstick in "Shot." Others may find the second Clouseau film a waste of ellers' talents.

No doubt the biggest surprise of the summer was an nglish film, "A Hard Day's Night," in which the Beatles urned up and proved that these four lads have more han so-so voices and mops of hair. For one thing they ave a delightful sense of humor, and supplied as they re with a good, light script by Alun Owen, they romp heir merry way through preparations for a TV show, hrough a press party, through a theatrical appearance, nd through howling mobs in between. They are com-letely unpretentious and have sense enough to make n of themselves along with everyone else. While some f the film, made with a hand-held camera under ichard Lester's direction, is rather amateurish and haky, most of it is nicely photographed indoors and ut; and occasionally it even has zany surrealistic poetic uality. My only objection to "A Hard Day's Night" is ot really the film's fault: the screaming girls in the audience prevented my hearing some of the gags, but even then what I could see was funny.

Although its plot was designed for teenagers, "Ride the Wild Surf" has some of the best surfing ever shown in a movie; and anyone interested in this dangerous sport will get a thrill out of this film's first-rate shots. No doubt kids won't mind the paper-thin story about surfers who spend their time in Hawaii at the height of the season; young folk may enjoy watching Fabian, Tab Hunter, Peter Brown, Robert Mitchum, and the other boys who indulge in mild romances in between their exhibitions of skill on the surf boards. Their elders may even be willing to sit through the story just to see the fine color photography of Hawaii and the wave riders in action.

Best of the films for young people is "Robinson Crusoe on Mars," which shows what happens to an astronaut (well played by Paul Mantee) who crashes on Mars and goes through a series of experiences somewhat paralleling those of the famous Defoe hero. It's an American who's so ingenious this time, and his adventures—up to the time of the arrival of Friday—are fascinating. When this dark-skinned slave turns up, however, the whole picture takes on a science-fiction aspect that departs from the earlier realism, and then the story becomes too much like earlier exercises in speculative fiction. I strongly recommend this "Crusoe," nevertheless. It speaks the language of today's kids—and may even send some of them back to reading Defoe.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

Uncle Death

Was I surprised!
Uncle Death stepped out of the wood
All of a sudden
Like Rip Van Winkle
Smelling of leaves and mud.

He had the family eyes.

"Give over plowing," he said.
"It's been a long time,"
Slitting a straw,
"Are there children?" he said.

"Two boys and a girl.
Will you be long?"
"Only tonight.
Gone by tomorrow."
"I'll tell Martha
To make up the bed."
"No need," he said.

WALTER CLARK

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CORRESPONDENCE

Pacem in Terris

Santa Barbara, Calif.

TO THE EDITORS: As has been publicized, the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions will sponsor an international conference in New York next February on *Pacem in Terris*. A preparatory meeting was held at Wingspread, the headquarters of the Johnson Foundation, May 17-19, at Racine, Wisconsin. This meeting was attended by such diverse participants among others as a Deputy to the French National Assembly, the President of the Hebrew Union College, the Minister of the Soviet Embassy in Washington, two United States Senators, the Editor of the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, the Permanent Observer of the Holy See to the FAO, the Counselor of the Yugoslav Embassy in Washington, the Ambassador to the United Nations from Kuwait, the Director of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (England), the Director of Mission and World Service Liaison for the National Council of Churches, a Judge of the International Court, the Counselor of the Polish Embassy, and the Ambassador of Nigeria to the United Nations. There was general agreement with the purpose of the Center in calling such a conference: "to revive the discussion [of Pope John's *Pacem in Terris*] by bringing together the best minds to talk about the encyclical's possibilities for helping along those tendencies to peace and cooperation among men that are beginning to appear."

Later the Pope received a full report of the meeting and copies of all the papers prepared for it. There were three such papers, one of which I wrote, and all were inserted in the *Congressional Record* by Senator Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island. Late in July the Apostolic Delegate received a message from the Secretariat of State of His Holiness, to be passed on to those who were responsible for planning the meeting. In this message, Pope Paul expressed his "grateful appreciation" and asked that the sponsors of the conference be informed of his gratitude.

For a Catholic working in a non-sectarian, public foundation, all this has been a source of great satisfaction. There is only one sour note. The funds made available to the Center for the conference were all recived from Protestant and Jewish sources. The original idea was to obtain such funds from Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish sources on a roughly equal basis. Two-thirds of the funds have been raised. The missing third is what was expected from Catholics interested in promulgating the ideas found in the encyclical and in implementing Pope John's plan for peace-making. Despite many different approaches, none of it has been forthcoming.

About $33,000 is still needed. Contributions, which are tax deductible, should be mailed to the parent organization of the sponsoring body: The Fund for the Republic, Inc., Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California.

I hope that no one will hesitate to send a contribution because it might be too small nor again because it might be too large.

JOHN COGLEY

BOOKS

Democracy at Home and Imperial Policy Abroad

The Invisible Government. By David Wise and Thomas B. Ross. Random House. $5.95.

by Walter Dean Burnham

THE EMERGENCE of any nation into great-power status is marked by a number of tell-tale signs, some obvious, others less apparent. One of the most infallible of these signs is the development of a permanent organization to carry out clandestine international operations. It is hard to believe that less than a quarter-century ago the United States possessed no central agency for intelligence operations, yet such was the case. The budget for such operations in 1940 was roughly zero. By the early 1960's the authors of *The Invisible Government* estimate, at least $4 billion was being spent annually—and without accountability to any other agency of government—by the Central Intelligence Agency and other organizations devoted to covert international operations.

The Invisible Government is the first reasonably systematic attempt to inform the American people about the activities of these most mysterious of their public servants. It is a remarkable piece of journalistic detective work. This book certainly has its flaws. In particular, it shares the tendency of the *genre* to overdramatize, to deal with extremely grave problems in superficial terms, and to see dark conspiracy lurking everywhere.

Like similar works, it seems to be pervaded with the neo-Jeffersonian view that it is inherently wrong and immoral for a free republic to engage in spying and other undercover operations. This may be emotionally satisfying, but it is not really very helpful. There has never been a major power on earth which has been able to do without its equivalent of the CIA. The price of "purity" is the renunciation of major-power status altogether. The immorality which seems inherent in this status—an immorality which is especially repellent to a people with liberal-democratic traditions—comes into head-on conflict with the hard fact that the United States is not Denmark. This is the heart of the dilemma facing our society, but it is hardly confronted in this book.

Nevertheless, *The Invisible Government* has done the American people a genuine service, and can be recommended to anyone wanting

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to get a fairly accurate bearing on our government's "black" operations around the world. The authors have presented a bill of particulars which includes the history of the CIA since its predecessor agency, the wartime O. S. S., came into existence after Pearl Harbor. It also includes a revealing discussion of the CIA's government-making activities in Iran, Guatemala, Indonesia, Cuba, Laos and South Vietnam. Taken as a whole, it is a devastating indictment of the "invisible government's" policy-making, even if viewed solely from the narrow perspective of results achieved.

The great operational successes so far have been the overthrow of Mossadegh in Iran (1952) and Arbenz in Guatemala (1954). As is painfully evident just now, our efforts to keep Laos and Vietnam "safe for freedom" —or whatever it is we are keeping them safe for—have led us step by step into an endless quasi-war which can escalate at any time. Needless to say, the Bay of Pigs fiasco of 1961 was in a class of failure all by itself; but, as the authors point out, the CIA's much less publicized attempt to overthrow Sukarno in Indonesia was no more successful. The score now stands at two wins, two extremely dangerous stalemates and two losses.

This sort of gross interference in the politics of unstable developing nations has gone hand in hand during the past dozen years with a stern and lofty moralism in our public pronouncements. Even now we are being conditioned for the possibility that our single-handed defense of "freedom" in Laos may involve us in full-scale war with Red China. But neither the moralism nor the strong-arm methods are hardly able any longer to dissimulate the hard intellectual vacuum in Washington which is at the root of the trouble.

As *The Invisible Government* accurately says, the sole operational validity which these CIA experiments in governmental change have is that they buy time. But time, to be worth buying, must be effectively utilized. It can be effectively utilized only if those who have purchased it know what they want to do with it. This requires, under modern world conditions, a broadly shaped and reasonably progressive vision of the world which they wish to create through the use of their power.

There are very few indications that any such coherent vision is even beginning to come into being in Washington. Our policies in these areas are oriented in the narrowest sense to preserving the status quo. In Iran, to be sure, there are evidences of healthy reform. But if reform is coming about, it can be credited very largely to the Shah's awareness that the alternative to reform is the permanent loss of his throne and much else besides. If local elites possess some sophistication and initiative, our time-buying enterprises can work, but there is certainly little evidence that Washington has worked with consistency and imagination to help such local elites emerge.

The long-range futility of these operations can be seen elsewhere. In Guatemala, as the authors rightly observe, the current situation is essentially what it was before the democratic revolution of 1944. As long as no new Arbenz or Castro comes along, the Americans responsible for the existence of the current Guatemalan regime couldn't seem to care less about trying to change the conditions which created the revolution in the first place. Our efforts to save "freedom" in South Vietnam served only to fasten a mandarin dictatorship on the South Vietnamese people and consequently to undermine their resistance to the Viet Cong. Our efforts to make Laos a strong bastion against Communism—preposterous on their face in this primitive, lotus-eating land—have apparently only fattened the bank accounts of a few Laotian "leaders." Forgotten in the current spate of alarms about Laos is the uncomfortable fact that it was CIA aggressiveness, seeking to make it into an anti-Communist bastion, which began most of our current troubles there.

The short of the matter is that Communism as an idea-system—as a force which can move men's minds and hearts—can only be dealt with adequately by presenting an alternative which is reasonably progressive and above all has relevance to the felt needs of the local population. The development of such an alternative requires that American leaders abandon a rigid, narrowly class-conscious outlook and frankly recognize that we are in the midst of a world-wide democratic revolution which is very likely to provide barren ground in many areas for American overseas investments.

This revolution will not always take forms congenial to Americans, and it will almost certainly include large elements of socialism or even national Communism in the course of its development. Concepts of freedom which may mean something in Keokuk or Boston will not stop this revolution in Rangoon or Bogota. Force can certainly stop it, but only at enormous and escalating costs: the progressive degradation of our liberal and revolutionary traditions at home —which will more and more make democracy in the United States itself an empty shibboleth rather than a living reality—and the increasing threat of major war.

The best recent example of a policy failure which was almost uniquely the product of a class-conditioned blindness in American leadership was the Bay of Pigs fiasco. The CIA's role was rather straightforward, actually: operational people are not trained to think broadly and very rarely do so. They organize a plan for eliminating irritants. But our leaders—including the top men in CIA as well as the President and others in his circle—proceeded on the incredibly naive assumption that Castro had little popular support and could be overthrown by landing a handful of his armed opponents on the beaches.

Only thus explained does the operation make any sense at all. Yet such an assumption betrays a total lack of awareness as to what social revolutions are all about. Whether well-off Americans like it or not, Castro's was in fact a genuinely popular revolution because he was at least able to persuade the Cuban lower classes that his cause was their cause. A ten-year-old child with an adequate knowledge of the French and Russian revolutions, and a minimum of empathy for the aspirations and political style of those not of his class or nationality, could have foretold disaster at the

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Bay of Pigs. This kind of massive blindness to the major currents at loose in the world is a far greater danger to the Republic even than the CIA's covert and irresponsible policy-making.

In the last analysis, the results of intelligence operations will be no more sound than the view of the world which gives them their direction. The CIA does rest at the center of the terrible dilemma which confronts this liberal democratic society as it moves beyond its borders to carry out a world-wide imperial policy. But ultimately this book—almost despite itself at times—raises the gravest doubts not about the need for secret operations as such but the underlying policies which such operations are supposed to promote. The dilemma between democracy at home and imperial power abroad seems destined to be resolved adversely to democracy unless the use of power is informed by that broad vision without which the people perish.

Off to War

Rupert Brooke. By Christopher Hassall. Harcourt, Brace & World. $8.75.

by Samuel Hynes

RUPERT Brooke belongs, not to a generation, and certainly not to posterity, but to a date: insofar as his name survives, it does so in inevitable connection with 1914. Although it was his generation—the generation of Pound and Eliot, of Joyce and Lawrence, of Epstein and Picasso and Stravinsky—that made the modern world of art, Brooke has no place among them, and consequently no living contact with the present moment. He is a poet of his time, but his time was those few first months of the First World War, when Englishmen still believed that it was sweet and proper to die for one's country, and when Brooke's war sonnets could be read without bitterness or irony.

We think of Brooke, then, as a War Poet. But quite inaccurately. In the first place, it would be more precise to call him an On-the-way-to-the-war Poet, for, with ironic appropriateness, he died of natural causes en route to the Dardanelles campaign; and the emotions that his war sonnets express are not those of a combatant, but of a recruit. The *real* War Poets—Owen and Sassoon and Graves and Blunden and Rosenberg—came along later, out of the trenches, and sang with a different note; and indeed one might say that their poems exist to contradict the ignorant nobilities of Brooke. Owen's "*Dulce et Decorum Est*" is the definitive retort to Brooke's "The Soldier."

But Brooke was a would-be War Poet only for the length of five sonnets; for the rest of his life he had been a lyrical poet of Youth, Love and Nature, of the kind we call Georgian. Most of his Georgian poems are hard going now, not because they are either very difficult or very bad, but because they are uniformly and conventionally dull. Brooke's style in these poems is the style of a number of mediocre pre-war poets (most of them preserved in the pages of *Georgian Poetry*); he never spoke with a distinguishable, individual voice of his own. And this is no doubt one reason for his popularity among people who don't ordinarily read verse; his poetry sounds the way poetry *should* sound, because it sounds like so many poems that have already been written. Echoes of Marvell and Donne, of Shakespeare, of Blake, of Housman and Yeats haunt the *Collected Poems*; the only ghost that is not there is Brooke's.

His verse forms are conventional, his diction is abstract and general, his images are the worn poetical coinage of the past (he had Swinburne's gift for arranging poetical-sounding words in almost meaningless sentences), and his subjects are poetical commonplaces. In a rare moment of self-criticism Brooke composed a table of contents for an imaginary anthology, to which his own contribution was to be "Oh Dear! oh, Dear! A Sonnet." This is very perceptive; nearly half of his poems are conventional sonnets, and most of them say little more than "Oh Dear! oh, Dear!"

Brooke was a sentimentalist by nature and by poetical association, but but in a few poems he managed to regard his sentimentality with some irony, and these poems are his best. "The Great Lover" and "Grantchester" are as good as they are because in them Brooke assumed a complex attitude toward his own romantic posturing ("Grantchester" was first called "The Sentimental Exile," a title which makes the intended irony unmistakable). In a few other poems Brooke helped himself to irony by leaning on Marvell and Donne ("Tiare Tahiti" is a good example); beyond these there is nothing in the *Collected Poems* that could not have been written by a committee of Georgians.

This account of the poems scarcely seems enough to explain Brooke's vast popularity; and of course the popularity is not founded on the poems, but on the Apollo-Brooke myth, a myth that existed long before Brooke's destiny found him at Scyros. Brooke was a Doomed Youth from the beginning, but his doom was his good fortune; as Henry James put it, felicity dogged his steps.

He was, first of all, beautiful, and beautiful in a way that was thought to be particularly English. He was superlatively English also in his education (Rugby and King's College, Cambridge) and in his tastes and habits. He was equally good at games and poems, and could swim as well as he could quote Greek. His personal charm was such that he had no enemies—and too many friends. He dined with the Prime Minister and called Churchill by his first name, and he never worked for a living. What could he do but die? (When James heard the news he said only, "Of course, of course.")

Brooke died, not as one more Englishman, but as a dream of English Youth, as an older generation might dream it. His death became at once the symbol of England's sacrifice, the perfection of English manhood self-immolated on the altar of the war. Brooke-the-man, what there was of him beneath the felicities, could scarcely survive such swift mythologizing.

For the restoration of the man we must be grateful to Mr. Christopher Hassall's meticulous biography. Mr. Hassall has been objectively aloof, but by simply recording the facts he

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defines a man who was both less and more than the Apollo myth. His Brooke is a credible, attractive, troubled young man—immature, (his favorite play was *Peter Pan*), provincial, puritanical, frightened by sex and harassed by a tyrannical mother who could end a typical letter, "Why are you so unsatisfactory?"

That this man wrote poems is interesting, and Mr. Hassall does what he can for Brooke's literary name, but it is not of central importance. What is important is that, in writing Brooke's life, Mr. Hassall has written the obituary of a class and a generation that was destroyed in the war. The book makes that curiously innocent world before the war vividly actual, and in this it is a brilliant achievement. If it diminishes Brooke in the process, this is only proper; he has been Apollo too long. But myths are rarely killed by facts, and no doubt Brooke will remain the bard-like spirit to sentimental minds.

Poor Brooke: it is his destiny to live as a supremely poetical figure, shirt open and hair too long and profile perfect—a figure that appeals particularly to that vast majority that doesn't read poetry, but knows what a poet should look like. But as a poet he is not immortal—he is only dead.

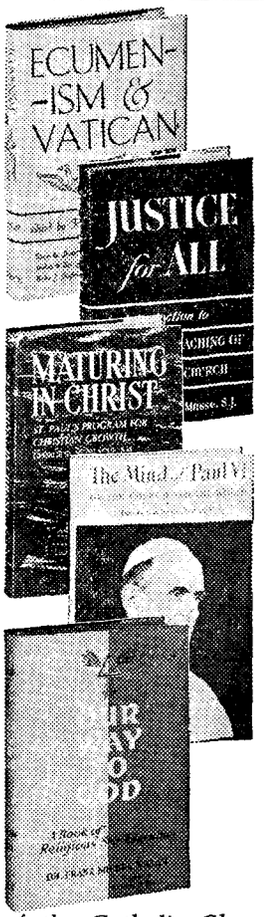
For C. Wright Mills

The New Sociology. Edited by Irving L. Horowitz. Oxford. $8.50.

by Robert M. Barry

OF ALL THE social sciences, sociology is most frequently held up for public criticism. It is accused of having its private language, "sociologese," and of speaking platitudes; of denying absolute truth and proclaiming it has a monopoly on truth; of having no concern for values and of providing new and strange values for society; of avoiding real contact with actual issues and of snooping into peoples' privacy; of asking questions that are unimportant and of revealing what ought not be revealed to the average citizen.

Since sociology is linked quite deeply with a changing and developing social structure it is, perhaps,



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only by providing a sociology of sociology that we will ever be able to discern the extent to which this science is both a reflection of the social situation and a tool for the new society that is presently emerging under our not fully conscious activity. In spite of individual or collective approval, the world is undergoing, as a recent report suggested, a triple revolution: in cybernetics, in weaponry, and in human rights.

One of the reasons it is easy to reproach sociology, for all its verbosity and sloppiness of development, is the fact that it has both tied itself to the new social emergence and reflected this emergence. Sociology can be considered as a scientific adolescent; it is remarkable, odd, curious, lawless, strange and muddled. But unless we prefer a regression to the neat, unbearded, soft-voiced, pleasant clarity of the childhood of the past, sociology, like the adolescent, must confront the future. Because the confrontation will involve a setting out of the conditions under which future generations will choose to be human, any scientific concern for the near or future society must involve the broadest powers of intellect and imagination. And this is precisely what the volume before us purports to do: to suggest the dimensions of a sociology that is equal to the task of the future.

Subtitled "Essays in Social Science and Social Theory in Honor of C. Wright Mills," this memorial tribute contains twenty-eight essays that deal, in one way or another, with the fundamental concerns of Mills. During his life Mills was considered by some to be the *enfant terrible* of the sociological clan, but even this was some type of acceptance. The academic sociologist, however, suspecting some philosophical impregnation in his origin, allowed no place for this *enfant naturel*. Previous to Mill's death, Horowitz, the editor, suggested this volume; Mills, while grateful, was hesitant because he doubted that a "respectable" group of scholars could be found who would be willing to contribute.

In spite of this hesitancy—revealing a humility that is uncommon among top-level sociologists—the scholars who have contributed are among the finest to be found: Pablo González Casanova, Ralph Miliband, Anatol Rapoport, Ernest Becker, Andrew Hacker, Fred Blum, Erich Fromm, Alvin Gouldner, Abraham Edel, T. B. Bottomore, Gino Germani, William McCord, L. A. Costa Pinto, and Byron Fox, to mention some. The willingness of these scholars to contribute testifies to more than merely their respect for Mills' thought. It can now be recognized that academic sociology is moving more and more toward the real world in its concerns—this is hardly a revolution, perhaps only a growing discernment—and the work of Mills must be seen as a major factor in this movement.

Beginning with the editor's perceptive introduction, almost every essay in this volume is a gem, if not for the perspectives and elaboration given to the thought of Mills, at least for the rich series of insights and cogent explanations that are everywhere to be found. The essays reflect many of the themes that

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...n an al... ...s the country, Hacker ... out that "the great institutions of the nation have the power to carry the public along a road it has not consented to travel and for which there are no discernible alternatives." On the problem of the separation of the social scientist from the world of values, the refusal of the "objective" intellectual to have any kind of commitment, Edel suggests that "a social science that sees its value bearings . . . can become a powerful instrument in human growth."

At the same time the whole volume is a pointing to a new sociology, a sociology that does not define the world in terms of an American, or Anglo-Saxon, or Western, reality. The multiple world of national boundaries is in the process of becoming one world of common social problems—problems experienced by all men and distinguished, not by spatial boundaries, but by their place on a time scale. Industrialization, cybernetics, alienation, starvation and poverty, health, nuclear war, the transition from rural to urban life—no matter what problem the scientist attacks, he has one whose dimensions are not limited to the spatial. The task of the sociologist can hardly be confined to the determination of public reactions to the first American on the moon. The facts of an emerging political structure on the world level, and the existing and worsening problems associated with starvation ought to force the sociologist, as *Pacem in Terris* ought to force the Christian, to reorganize his vision towards world problems, toward the problems common to humanity—at least if sociology is a science that deals with the human.

Without Pretense

The Old Boys. By William Trevor. Viking Press. $3.95.

by Thomas Curley

THIS IS a pleasant book about an unpleasant subject. It is short, under two hundred pages, and utterly without the mannerisms and lack of control that often mar first novels.

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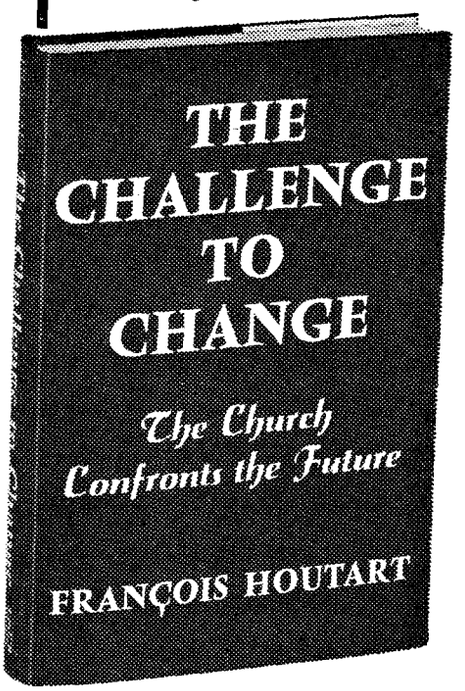

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The septuagenarian [illegible] School by which [illegible] together in mutual and hostile affection. One is apt to think it strange that a thirty-five-year-old man should write his first novel on old age, but then one recalls that John Updike, when he was some years younger than that, wrote his *The Poorhouse Fair*. Age simplifies; so does youth. Most first novelists imagine their adolescence, a few their childhood; the more reflective may, imaginatively, advance to extreme age in order to transcend the niggling complexities of the middle of the journey.

Trevor has not only imagined simplicity, he has made it explicit. At a School get-together, a General Sanctuary and a Lady Ponders congratulate each other on old age. The General says:

"We are lucky, Lady Ponders: it is pleasanter to be over seventy, as it was to be very young. Nothing new will happen to us again. To have everything to come, to have nothing to come—one can cope. Pity our middle-aged Headmaster and his greying wife."

As the General says, nothing new happens. There are events ("happenings," as they say in some circles, a word referring to an event dedicated to the proposition that events are meaningless) but whether Jaraby is elected President of the Old Boys Association is a matter of moment only to Jaraby and Nox who has nourished a grudge against his schoolmate for fifty odd years. One reads along wondering what Nox or Jaraby or Turtle will say or do next, much as the middle-aged adults in a family will keep one another informed on the sayings and doings of Aunt Nell or Aunt Kate or Granny. The old are funny even when they are loved ones, and we are not excessively ashamed of our laughter because it is the only defense against the familiar terror of imagining our own condition in twenty, thirty, or forty years, for whatever the sages may tell us of the benefits of age, very few of us look forward to it.

Muriel Spark's *Memento Mori* comes to mind by way of contrast to Mr. Trevor's *Old Boys*. A mysterious voice over the telephone reminding the elders of her novel that they will die creates for the reader the chill of suspense. Something may happen. Mr. Trevor does not delude us; his novel is a study in the futility of expecting anything new. Or almost. His ending is tantalizing: throughout the novel the quarrels between Mr. and Mrs. Jaraby have been a source of amusement—they "go" at each other so. If there are diversions in Hell, I suppose they'll be of this sort. At the very end, however, Mr. Jaraby's public life having been proven as futile as his private life, he and the Mrs. sit down for the summing up. But she, a woman of strong, if spiteful, spirit, thus addresses him and ends the novel:

"Do not be downcast; we must not mourn. Has hell begun, is that it? Well, then, I must extend a welcome from my unimportant corner of that same place. We are together again, Mr. Jaraby; this is an occasion for celebration, and you must do the talking for a while. Cast gloom aside, and let us see how best to make the gesture. Come now, how shall we prove we are not dead?"

I cannot praise Mr. Trevor too much for this conclusion. The writing is firm without pretense, and that last question—"How shall we prove we are not dead?"—has a dignity that rises above both fun and mere rhetoric. One wonders if something new has not begun to happen.

REVIEWERS

Walter Dean Burnham, a frequent contributor, recently joined the faculty at Haverford College.

Samuel Hynes is a member of the faculty at Swarthmore.

Robert M. Barry is a contributor to *Thought*, the *American Benedictine Review*, and other journals.

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